

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 6754

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - T E X T

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE, XG
SUBJECT: CSCE: DECEMBER 3 NAC CONSULTATIONS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

1. SUMMARY: US SAID ALLIES SHOULD BE READY TO MOVE FORWARD TO EXTENT EASTERN ATTITUDES PERMIT, BEARING IN MIND POSSIBILITY OF CONCLUDING STAGE II BY SPRING. NORWAY AND DENMARK ALSO FAVORED EARLY CONCLUSION OF STAGE II TALKS. MOST OTHERS, HOWEVER, SAW NO RPT NO NEED TO HURRY, THOUGHT SOVIETS' SELF-IMPOSED TIME-PRESSURE OFFERED TACTICAL ADVANTAGES FOR WEST, AND ATTRIBUTED SUBSTANTIVE GAINS ACHIEVED SO FAR TO ALLIED TENACITY AND COHESION. MOST BELIEVED THE MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE SHOULD ASSESS CSCE PROSPECTS SOBERLY AND AVOID ANY REFERENCE TO CONCLUDING CONFERENCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. CONSENSUE SUPPORTED REASSESSMENT OF ALLIED APPROACH IN FURTHER NAC CONSULTATIONS IN LATE JANUARY. MAJORITY OF SPEAKERS WAS CAUTIOUSLY CONFIDENTIAL

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OPTIMISTIC ABOUT STAGE II PROSPECTS BUT INEREPRETED RECENT SOVIET FLEXIBILITY IN GENEVA PRIMARILY AS EFFORT NUDGE MATTERS FORWARD PRIOR TO CHRISTMAS BREAK AND NOT RPT NOT AS A BASIC SHIFT IN MOCOW'S APPROCH TO CONNERENCE.

DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE SPECIFICS BROKE NO RPT NO NEW GROUND. GREECE REITERATED THAT IT WOULD RESERVE ITS POSITION ON CSCE TEXTS PENDING FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN CYPRUS. MOST NATO PERM REPS WERE ACCOMPANIED BY CSCE DELEGATION HEADS OR BY EXPERS FROM CAPITALS. END SUMMARY.

2. STAGE II TIMING AND ALLIED TACTICS--US (SHERER) SAID ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR BUSINESSLIKE DISCUSSIONS, WHENEVER EASTERN ATTITUDES PERMIT PROGRESS, AND SHOULD BEAR IN MIND POSSIBILITY THAT STAGE II MIGHT BE ENDED BY SPRING. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES CONSIDER WAYS OF SPEEDING UP WORK IN CSCE PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE. NORWAY (MEVIK) SAID EARLY CONCLUSION OF STAGE II IS AS MUCH WESTERN AS IN SOVIET INTEREST, AND HE ECHOED US COMPLAINT ABOUT SLOW MOVEMENT ON PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. DENMARK (SVART) ALSO SPOKE IN FAVOR OF TIMELY CONCLUSION OF STAGE II.

3. ALL OTHERS WHO ADDRESSED THE TIMING ISSUE (INCLUDING THE FRG, UK, FRANCE, BENELUX AND CANADA) SAW NO REPEAT NO NEED TO HURRY MATTERS. UK (FALL) WAS PARTICULARLY EXPLICIT IN SAYING THAT THE SOVIETS, IN URGING AN EARLY CONCLUSION OF STAGE II, HAD PUT TIME PRESSURE ON THEMSELVES. THE WEST SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS BY BARGAINING HARD FOR SUBSTANTIVE CONCESSIONS, A POINT MADE BY FRG, AND OTHERS. UK, FALL SAID, IS NOT REPEAT NOT BOTHERED BY PRESENT RATE OF PROGRESS ON PRINCIPLES DECLARATION; IT WOULD BE DAMAGING TO WESTERN INTERESTS IF BASKET III AND CBMS LAGGED BEHIND PRINCIPLES.

4. MOST ALLIED REPS ATTRIBUTED SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS TO DATE TO ALLIED FIRMNESS, DETERMINATION AND COHESION--WORDS USED BY PRACTICALLY EVERY SPEAKER. UK SAID THAT THE REAPPRAISAL OF WESTERN TACTICS, SUGGESTED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER LAST JUNE, HAD PUT US ON THE RIIGHT TRACK AND WE
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SHOULD STICK TO IT. MOST DELEGATIONS THOUGHT ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE WITH TENACITY AND PATIENCE AND NOT ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE JOSTLED BY SOVIET PRESSUE TO WRAP UP STAGE II AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

5. FRG (BLECH) SAID BONN BELIEVED THE SOVIETS WOULD TRY TO LEAVE OPEN, UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE, AS MANY QUESTIONS OF INTEREST TO THE WEST AS POSSIBLE, THEREBY PUTTING THE WESTERN SIDE IN POSITION OF DEMANDEUR AT THE END OF STAGE II. THEN THE QUESTION OF PRIORITIES MIGHT BECOME CONTENTIOUS ON THE WESTERN SIDE, SEVERELY TESTING ALLIED COHESION. FRANCE (DE ROSE) SUPPORTED

THE FRG CAUTIOUSLY, WARNING THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT LEAVE OPEN NUMEROUS ISSUES OF INTEREST TO THEM FOR RESOLUTION IN THE LAST PHASE OF THE BARGAINING PROCESS.

6. CSCE IN THE NAC MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE--BELGIAN PERMREP DE STAERCKE ASKED DELEGATIONS TO SAY HOW THEY BELIEVED THE MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE SHOULD TREAT CSCE, ALLUDING IN THIS CONTEXT TO THE VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE. NORWAY SAID MINISTERS SHOULD STRESS THE ALLIED DESIRE TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY FOR AN EARLY CONCLUSION OF STAGE II. CANADA AND PORTUGAL DISAGREED, ARGUING THAT THIS WOULD CONVEY WRONG SIGNAL TO OTHER SIDE. NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM AND TURKEY FAVORED LANGUAGE LIKE THAT IN OTTAWA COMMUNIQUE. OTHERS (FRG, UK, FRANCE) WERE CLEARLY ON THE SIDE OF A RATHER RESTRAINED EVALUATION OF CSCE AND NO HINT OF EUPHORIA IN THE MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE. SEVERAL DELS PROPOSED AN EXPLICIT STATEMENT OF ALLIED CONCERN AT THE LACK OF PROGRESS ON CBMS. US DID NOT SPEAK TO ISSUE OF MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE.

7. FURTHER NAC CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE--MOST DELS SUGGESTED ANOTHER ROUND OF STOCKTAKING IN THE NAC IN LATE JANUARY, AND CHAIRMAN (DSYG PANS), IN HIS SUMMING UP, NOTED NAC CONSENSUS ON THIS POINT. UK URGED THAT THE JANUARY CONSULTATIONS BE PORTRAYED AS A ROUTINE EXERCISE, AND NOT A FUNDAMENTAL REAPPRAISAL, LEST THE SOVIETS CONCLUDE THE ALLIES INTEND TO SHIFT THEIR POLICY. THIS COULD LEAD THE SOVIETS TO DRAG THEIR FEET IN GENEVA IN
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ANTICIPATION OF WESTERN CONCESSIONS.

8. ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT STATUS OF STAGE II DISCUSSIONS--MOST DELEGATIONS EXPRESSED VERY GUARDED OPTIMISM ON STAGE II PROSPECTS. WHILE WELCOMING RECENT PROGRESS IN BASKETS I AND III, THEY RELATED THIS LARGELY TO THE NOW TRADITIONAL SOVIET TACTIC OF TRYING TO MOVE TALKS FORWARD JUST PRIOR TO A RECESS. MOST ALLIES WERE NOT YET READY TO CONCLUDE THAT SOVIETS WOULD MAINTAIN PRESENT RELATIVELY FORTHCOMING POSTURE WHEN DISCUSSIONS RESUME IN JANUARY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 6754

9. PRINCIPLES DECLARATION--BLECH REITERATED IMPORTANCE FRG STTACHES TO PEACEFUL CHANGE LANUAGE AND SAID TEXT TABLED BY US IN JULY PROVIDES GOOD BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. ALLIES ALSO NEED A GOOD STATEMENT ON EQUAL VALUE OF PRINCIPLES AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIP. THIS IS IMPORTANT, BLECH SAID, NOT ONLY IN PEACEFUL CHANGE CONTEXT, BUT TO WHOLE PHILOSOPHY OF THEDECLARATION. SEVERAL OTHER DELEGATIONS EXPRESSED GENERAL SATISFACTION WITH PRINCIPLES TEXT, AS IT HAS EVOLVED TO DATE, AND ATTRIBUTED THESE GOOD RESULTS TO WESTERN TENACITY AND SOLIDARITY IN GENEVA.

10. CBMS--SEVERAL DELEGATIONS (UK, FRG, NETHERLANDS) DEPLORED LACK OF PROGRESS IN CBMS AND EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT, IF THE MATTER WERE LEFT UNRESOLVED UNTIL LASTFEW DAYS OF STAGE II. THE ALLIES WOULD COME UNDER STRONG PRESSURE TO GIVE CBMS SHORT SHRIFT BY AGREEING TO A MINIMAL OUTCOME. UK AND NETHERLANDS SAID ALLIES SHOULD REFLECT ON WAYS OF MOVING FORWARD THE CBM DRAFTING EXCERCISE SO THAT ONLY THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ARITHMETIC (E.G. NUMBER OF DAYS TO PRIOR NOTIFICATION; WIDTH OF BAND OF SOVIET TERRITORY TO BE COVERED; AND THRESHOLDFOR NOTIFICATION WOULD NEED TO BE ADDED AT THE LAST MOMENT.

11. BASKET III--AT THIS MEETING, ALLIES SEEMED MORE DISTURBED ABOUT IMPASSE ON CBMS THAN ABOUT BASKET III PROBLEMS, WHICH WERE NOT ADDRESSED IN DETAIL.

12. BASKET IV--UK AGREED WITH US SUGGESTION THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR NATO DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA TO BEGIN TO CONSULT ABOUT KIND OF COMPROMISE SOLUTION THAT MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE. FRGREP SAID HIS AUTHORITIES "STRONGLY SUPPORT" THE DANISH PROPOSAL.

13. CYPRUS ISSUE--GREEK PERM REP (THEODOROPOULOS)
RECALLED GREEK STATEMENT ON THIS PROBLEM DURING SEPTEMBER
NAC CONSULTATION ON CSCE AND SAID MATTERS HAD NOT
IMPROVED SINCE AND MAY INDEED HAVE BECOME WORSE. THE
PRINCIPLES DECLARATION CANNOT BE MADE CREDIBLE TO
SOVIET UNION IF SEVERAL OF THE INDIVIDUAL PRINCIPLES
ARE BEING VIOLATED WHILE CONFERENCE PROCEEDS. GREECE
THEREFORE RESERVED ITS RIGHT TO ACCEPT OR TO REJECT
THE FINAL RESULTS OF STAGE II DEPENDING UPON DEVELOPMENTS
ON CYPRUS. TURKEY (ERALP), IN BRIEF MILD
REJOINDER, SAID HIS GOVERNMENT FELT NO GUILT WITH
RESPECT TO ITS ACTION IN CYPRUS. TURKEY HAD NOT STARTED
THE PROCESS WHICH BROUGHT MATTERS TO THEIR PRESENT PASS.

14. MALTESE PROPOSAL--US SAID THAT WE THINK TIME HAS
COME FOR ALLIED DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA TO AGREE ON
POSITIVE COURSE OF ACTION FOR DEALING WITH THIS PROBLEM.
ITALY AGREED SUCH CONSULTATIONS WOULD BE USEFUL.
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